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MR. CONWELL'S SPEECH,
CONCLUDED.

I must now call the attention of the House for a few moments to what I deem a singular phenomenon in our history, and turn to the report on your tables. It is said that the planting and grain-growing states, have sent 175,000 to the manufacturing states of this country about three hundred and fifty millions of dollars, for which they have received no equivalent. Sir, if this be true, since the Israelites were required by the Egyptian tyrant, to make bricks without straw, there is no parallel to such monstrous oppression.

I have already stated that I will not pretend to quote the precise language of the report. I am sure it is stated that duties on imported articles to the amount of six hundred and eighty two millions of dollars, besides thirty million dollars in collection, have been paid in the year 1836. It is also stated in the report that more than one half of this aggregate had been levied on *protected articles*. The whole of the importers to prove that the duty on protected articles is a grievous and oppressive tax on consumption, for which no equivalent is received in return. Commenced with these positions the author of the report endeavours to show that the planting and grain-growing portions of the Union were, and are the consumers, and the few northern manufacturing states, the producers of the protected articles; that the farmers are the payers and the latter the receivers of the duties; which duties are represented as a mere bounty to the labor of the North, for which the South and the West never have been, and in the nature of things, never will be reimbursed. Sir, I shall not now trouble the House, nor my friends, who put forth this fact as a truth, proved by figures, tabular statements, with my arguments opposed to it, but I will allow it to stand, as it is in a West's man with feelings of pride. At the same time, I trust, in common with others, labor under some doubts of the fact asserted, arising out of the known history of the last twenty or thirty years.

If the West and South west, have paid their due portion of this unjust and unmixed tax of three hundred and fifty millions within the last forty years, while, at the same time, they have, as the world knows, conquered the savages, who possessed the whole Western and Southern territory, cleared the thick forests which overshadowed it, in short, that portion of the United States has in less than half a century, as all of us, or least a great portion of improvement in wealth and arts which other times and people required ages to achieve, then, I say, I may with pride and confidence challenge the whole world with the period of authentic history, to particular the wonderland people which I have the honor, in most, to represent.

But, Mr. Speaker, some sober reality and stubborn facts compel me to repress this exultation at our fancied superiority; modesty compels me to doubt whether truth places us so far above common mortals, as this report does done. Facts, known facts, those uncommodating things, that run as many beautiful inventions of ferile and ingenious minds, are constantly threating themselves before, and in the way of the figures and philosophy of the gentleman who has labored in this report to push them, and drive over them, to reach his favorite conclusions. You will observe, Mr. Speaker, that we are told of the *treasures* of all those of the United States, in which the enormous tribute of the West and South west, and 60 millions have been paid. In the same connexion you have heard of the "princely establishments" that have been reared up, and sustained by us. The "princely establishments" are in the northern manufacturing states. The "princes" to whom the tribute is paid are the people of this happy, favored region. Where, sir, are the poor oppressed tributaries, according to this report? Why are, in this sinking, ruined, wasted wilderness, the West?

The author of this report under the influence of a too fervid imagination, has spurned the shackles, and broken through the embarrassments arising from facts connected with the scheme of his theory. He represents the northern manufacturing states as a Northern Home, seated on seven hills, riding in the luxuries of the despised and impudent South, haranguing, blustering with its enormous wealth, poured into them from the ravaged and depopulated provinces of the West. Manufacturing is pictured as the wand of Midas, turning every thing it touches into gold, while it would seem that grain growing and planting cotton, brought only taxation without equivalent, poverty and unrequited toil. Sir, if all this were true, what was it followed?

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In the same connexion the Secretary has quite distinctly told us that the revenue of 1836, we shall not only absorb all the accrossing revenues and the five millions not deposited with the States, by the expenditures of 1837, but that the States will be called on to repay a portion of the money deposited with them, to meet the wants of the Government during the present year. How, sir, does the policy of reducing the revenue, as proposed in this bill, agree with this state of things? Pass the bill, sir, and in eighteen months, it is said, you will save in the pockets of the people seven millions, which would otherwise be drawn from them by the laws now in force. And in the same time, if you place any confidence in the Secretary of the Treasury, you will be compelled to take from the people of the States (who are to have the use of the money deposited with them,) an equal amount of not more than a million and a half of bungling jiggery would this be? You simply lay seven millions out of one pocket of the people, and put it into the other, and gravely tell them you have saved to them seven millions of money by the process. Sir, the calculations of the States are not to be thus deceived. Let them look to this measure and its sore results. It is designed to bring about a state of things which will compel a call on them for the surplus revenue demanded by the bill, and which I am happy to see their legislatures are using to the general advantage of their constituents.

But it will be the friends of the Secretary will tell me his conjectures and calculations are not to be relied on. Shall I receive that answer from the gentlemen composing the majority here? Whose authority is it that thus is to be contended? The very man whose heaviest have been laws to the committee of Ways and Means ever since I have heard of him! Sir, I have observed that it has been thought that he has been bought by that committee, not only untrue, but even contemptuous, facts, relations, to oppose any measure that would interfere with them, and which I am happy to see their legislatures are using to the general advantage of their constituents.

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